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1. Its Structure

197 634 571 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

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food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

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Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dialect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Pomonby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (l):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur [ɨkɨ̃ʰ], which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /800/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 234; 1884). He states that

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621 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles
•634 (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the
571 middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hikaiamakĭttasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hikaiamakŭtasŭni, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamăkĭttasa which recurs in hikaiamakĭttasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation kaiamăkŭtasŭki, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hikaiamăkŭtasăpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hămaa is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalăin, civilized country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hamaiămalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hamakipaiămalim, "my country women," hamaala, "my countryman," and finally hamakĭpa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the
634 dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

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ngether. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (1):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Addevia (New York Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of death of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

/901/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood